Magic, Medicine, Soothsaying

The favourite remedy in Scutari for the pulmonary form was a drink made of the root of "bader" (*Iris Dalmatica*), which grows wild plentifully. It soothed the throat and allayed coughing somewhat.

Diarrhœa.—A decoction of oak bark—a strong astringent—was efficacious.

Constipation.—There was no local remedy. It was a very common trouble and I was constantly asked for "English salts."

Opium "tea," made by boiling haphazard a handful of poppy-seed, was given recklessly to stop pain. It was common to give a small dose nightly to infants to keep them quiet. In a communal house, where some twenty people sleep together, a crying child is not tolerated. Children suffering from opium poisoning were often brought to the Austrian hospital, the mother being quite unaware of the cause of the child's state.

Animal Remedies.—When I was suffering from acute sciatica, was paralysed with pain, and quite helpless, Marko wanted to slaughter a sheep in the yard and wrap me in the raw hide. As is customary when people are ill, all the neighbours crowded into my room to cheer me. When I was on the point of collapse with pain and heat, the cat jumped on to my bad leg, hurting me horribly. The neighbours chorused: "Thank God! The cat has jumped on her. Now she will not die. The cat always knows."

Then the Austrian doctor carried me off to his hospital.

The reason given for the raw hide is that the sheep eats many herbs and their virtue will soak into the patient. But in fact the raw hide is a hot fomentation. Other beasts are used.

This same Austrian doctor told me he was called to a moribund man. The hut was crowded, it was midsummer, and the heat and stench indescribable. Ten days before, a black cat had been split and applied to the patient's abdomen and was still there.

Enteric Fever.—This is endemic all through the Balkans. In Albania a horrid remedy was believed in. The dung of a dog which had been dropped on a stone and dried in the sun was pounded and given in water. I vainly tried to prevent this on one occasion; but the dose had been prepared by the local priest, who had the greatest faith in it. This repulsive remedy was included in the official pharmacopœia of Vienna till 1795, to be used internally for dysentery and griping pains. In Albania, at any rate, patients survived the treatment. Did the dog's dung supply an intestinal bacillus which combated that of enteric?

Emetic.—Human excrement mixed with water was given. Mixed with rakia it was given to an habitual drunkard with the idea of curing him. The experiment failed.

The boiled flesh of the glass snake (*Pseudopus pallasi*), a common

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it was not." As "first aid" for a wound he prescribed the yolk of an egg and a lot of salt, well mixed and applied on a pad of wool; afterwards dress as above. It was very necessary, he said, to leave no splinters of bone in a wound. He described how he had spent two hours removing seventeen splinters from a fractured tibia with some little forceps he had made himself. You must work slowly and very carefully. You must watch your patient and compare his symptoms with those of others. So you learn. He had lately mended the leg of a horse by slinging it to the branch of a tree and putting the limb in a splint.

A shot through the knee, he declared, was usually fatal, and one through the ankle was difficult to make a good job of. But three fingers' breadth below the knee-cap and three above the ankle he could always be sure of curing.

For inflammation he used leeches freely. Had just treated a woman successfully for apoplexy. She was "dead" on one side and speechless. He bled her from the temple on the "dead" side and seven times from the arm on the other side. She was better next day, and he bled her five times. She completely recovered. Marash expounded head-surgery. The head, he said, is like an egg. There is a shell, then a skin, and then the meat. If this skin is broken through you can do nothing; if it is not and the fractured skull is only pressing on the brain it is curable. He demonstrated how a flap should be cut and turned back. The broken pieces of bone must be carefully removed and replaced by a piece of hard-dried bottle-gourd chosen to fit the shape. The ointment must be added and the flap replaced and dressed. Some men were very clever at cutting away bone. He had never cut away skull-bone himself. A man in Mirdita had lately cut away a large piece of the skull of an injured man successfully. He indicated the upper part of the left parietal. The "kirijee" boy from whom I had hired horses then told us that he had a piece of bottle-gourd in his head. Had been knocked on the head and stunned in a quarrel, and been unconscious till a "hekim" had taken out the broken bone. Now he said he never felt any trouble except that his head itched a good deal. I felt his head carefully, and there certainly was a hard edge to be found.

Marash Hutzi had a great reputation for curing wounds and certainly deserved it. It is of interest to find that a strictly antiseptic method was being used so long ago as his grandfather's time in the Albanian mountains when in England we still washed our wounds with any pump-water. Marash was over sixty. Trephining, I was told, was still practised to cure pains in the head, but I did not meet a case.

A dressing much used for slight wounds was olive oil in which a quantity of pounded leaves of the common St. John's wort (*Hypericum perforatum*) had been macerated in the sun. This seemed to have some

757 278 antiseptic properties. This plant is still used for similar purposes by homœopathists.

An ingenious way of keeping a limb warm is to wrap it in hot dough.

757 753 It was always difficult to persuade folk to have a running sore or boil cleaned up, as they believed that it was very healthy—a disease was coming out, therefore the more pus the better. I persuaded the father of a little girl who had scratched her face and got it covered with nasty sores to take her to the Austrian hospital. The doctor cleaned it up in a few days and the father was furious. He was sure the disease was now driven into the child and said he should hold the doctor guilty if she died. Luckily she flourished.

757 151 Two examples of resistance to pain and shock, out of very many I have known, will give an idea of Albanian toughness.

A Shala friend of mine, Cherim Nue, came one night from his mountains to Scutari to ask me for a "bar" (herb). He was in great pain with a swollen face. As he had two very bad teeth, I told him to go to the Turkish dentist and have them out, and gave him the fee—four chereks. Next day he returned triumphant to pay me back one cherek. He thought it a pity to waste four on the dentist, so he bought 563 326 a pair of dentistry forceps from a gipsy smith for three chereks and pulled out his own teeth. He showed me how he had managed a good wrench by sitting on the ground and twisting his left leg over his right arm. He set up as dentist in the mountains, and last time I saw him 759 told me with glee that I had made his fortune. He had pulled out most of the teeth of the neighbourhood.

752 757 The following case gives an idea of what an Albanian peasant can survive: A man was standing on top of the steps of a village house in Zadrima loading a cart. He slipped and fell on to the sharp stakes that formed its sides and ripped open his abdomen. The peritoneum was badly torn and the bowels protruded. His family filled the wound 278 with a favourite remedy—mud mixed with grass; and he lay in his hut for a week. As he then appeared to be dying they put him on a cart and took him some six or eight hours over a bad track to the Austrian hospital at Scutari, where they arrived at midnight. The doctor who was called up told me that the man appeared to be moribund. The wound was in a horrible state of mixed mud, pus, and bowel. "More from professional instinct than because I thought it would be the least use, I cleaned it and dressed it. But I was so sure the man would die that I told his comrades they were to wait till next day to take his body home in the cart." To his surprise, when he went his rounds next morning the patient's high temperature had fallen, 757 the wound was going well, and he was comparatively cheerful. He 278 made good progress for some days, but had a fixed belief that "English

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salts" was the best remedy for all internal pains and begged for it. As he was refused, he induced his friends next visiting day to bring him some and took a huge dose. The results were disastrous: he collapsed. "This time I made sure he would die," said the doctor. But he did not, and three weeks afterwards he walked home, apparently none the worse.

The Worm of Life.—This singular belief I found common in the Albanian mountains; I can find no parallel to it elsewhere. A worm is said to live in the ear and be the centre of the life of the individual. If the worm dies, the individual dies. I learnt this first in Shala. A very sickly child was brought to me for advice. He suffered from bad earache and headache. I found his ears completely blocked with filth and wax, and one flyblown with maggots in it. I told the parents to take him to the Austrian hospital in Scutari and wrote a note for them to take to my friend, the doctor. As usual they wanted an "ilatch" (remedy) to work an immediate cure. I explained that no ilatch was of use. The ear must be washed out by the doctor. At once there was great excitement. Old Marko, much shocked, explained to me that washing would drown the worm and the child would drop down dead. All were amazed that I should suggest such a thing, saying reproachfully: "But, lady, you who have been to school must surely know the worm of life is in the ear." The wax in the ear, they said, was the worm's excrement. I objected to Marko: "But this is folly. You might as well say that the moisture from the nose proves that a worm lives there." He retorted contemptuously that everyone knew there was no worm in the nose.

The child was not taken to the hospital and no doubt died untended.

Further inquiry showed that this belief in the worm of life in the ear was very general. I have not found it recorded elsewhere; nor is it easy to explain.

An ancient and strange belief that certain animals and women could conceive through the ear existed up to the Middle Ages. Plutarch gives as a reason for cat-worship in Egypt the "fact" that the cat conceives through its ears. A Latin hymn to the Virgin, "Quæ per aures concepisti," offers this belief as explanation of the Immaculate Conception. The ear thus appears to have been regarded as the seat of life—or at least the gateway to it.

Is the Albanian worm of life a last echo of such a belief? It is easier to ask questions than to answer them.

In the section on "Taboo on Showing the Face" I suggest that the habit of covering the ears with a head-wrap may indicate that the ears were a vulnerable spot. It is, at least, an interesting coincidence that ear-protecting and a belief in the ear as a centre of life are found in the same district.

AN INTIMATE GLIMPSE INTO ALBANIA

771 551 years ago as to whether it was to be Christian or Moslem. Therefore, in silent compromise, the elder members of the inhabitants had two names: the Moslem one used for public purposes, and the Christian one used privately and for baptisms and marriages, for these ceremonies a priest was smuggled in and out of the neighborhood by night. It was only about thirty years ago that the Christians felt free to declare openly their faith; this was due greatly to the intervention of the Austrians and Russians. However, those of the older generation retain their Moslem names but their children have been given Christian names only.

312 529 757 Perhaps of greatest interest to one visiting this fascinating country for health purposes, will be the healing springs at Llixha, only a few readily negotiable miles from Elbasan. These most unusual springs are certain cures for various forms of rheumatism. The sulphuric waters are so healing that merely by the repeated emptying of cans of water over the body in the oriental fashion many cures have been effected. The ground around these springs is very warm, and until forty years ago, before the useful invasion of the modern

baths and hotels, the natives dug large holes near the springs of the desired temperature and saturated themselves therein until cured. The weirdest phenomena of nature lies in the fact that the temperature of the springs is extremely varied: there are the cool, almost cold, enjoyable springs and others that are of varying degrees of heat up to the boiling point. It has been ascertained, however, that the mineral content of all the springs is the same. These famous sulphur baths have performed many seemingly miraculous cures, and are considered usurpers of Carlsbad; and what is more important, the price of living is unbelievably low. The price one pays a day in the average European capital would serve for three or four luxurious days in Albania. It is really amazing that the price of regained health should be so astonishingly moderate. The advent of comfortable and convenient hotels has greatly increased the value of these health-restoring springs, and make them the most desirable of their kind in Europe. One of the most outstanding of these hotels is the Park Hotel constructed on European lines with comfortable bathrooms, electric light and electrotherapy by a visiting doctor.

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indicates that the first professional doctors inland were Turkish. Previous to the Turkish conquest, when the Serbian Empire was at its height, it is clear that there were no Serbian doctors of repute, for the archives of Ragusa and Venice contain letters asking that the medical man of one or other of the coast towns may be allowed to leave his post temporarily in order to visit an ailing Serbian magnate, and the ballads sometimes say of a sorely wounded hero: "Shall we send for a doctor from the coast?"

The Serbian for doctor is "ljechnik," from "ljechiti" (to heal). This derives from Teutonic, and is akin to our old word "leech." The word "doktor" also is used. The professional doctor was evidently a foreigner. Magic was probably the oldest Balkan remedy for disease. Disease is an inexplicable mystery which demands a mystery to combat it. Wounds, on the contrary, are shrouded in no mystery and demand different treatment.

HERBAL REMEDIES IN ALBANIA

For Sciatica.—(1) The limb is beaten with stinging-nettles till blistered —a counter-irritant. I refused to allow this to be tried on me, though a neighbour vowed it had cured her. (2) The limb is rubbed with a paste of roasted onions boiled in oil. This in the form of gentle massage gave some relief.

Pounded onions are commonly used for dressing contusions where the skin is broken in Albania, Macedonia, and Montenegro, and appear to have a soothing effect. Such a dressing at least prevents dirty clothing from rubbing the wound and, by keeping it clean, assists healing.

A great variety of herbs and leaves are valued as "cures" when par-boiled, and applied hot to sprains, contusions, abscesses, boils, etc. In most, if not all, cases it is the hot fomentation, frequently renewed, which does the cure, rather than the particular herb. Thus at Berisha they fomented Marko's sprained ankle with ferns (*Ceterach* and *Trichomanes nigra*) boiled with wild peppermint, taking much trouble to search for and find the right kinds. Boiled walnut leaves are also believed in.

For Weak Eyes.—Pound up wall pellitory, squeeze out the juice and mix with salt. To be dropped twice a day into the eye. Maximum dose, three drops.

For a Cough.—Oil in which some tortoise flesh has been boiled; or a decoction of wild-sage leaves boiled with honey.

The leaves of the wild sage dried and made into "tea" make a very pleasant drink used in Montenegro and Albania.

Tuberculosis.—This disease, in all its forms, ravages the Balkans.

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enough creature near Scutari, was esteemed as very good for consumptive patients.

The flesh of the common land tortoise was thought of great value for all convalescents. When I came out of hospital Marko had prepared a savoury stew for my supper. I ate heartily. "Thank God!" cried the good old man, "you have eaten 'breshké,' and you will soon be strong and well." He fetched the shell of the large tortoise which had provided my meal.

So common are these tortoises that an Albanian proverb says: "There is no mountain without a wolf and no plain without a tortoise."

Diseases.—Intestinal troubles of all kinds are rife in the Balkans, owing to bad food, and in some districts to a morbid appetite for very acid food. Intestinal worms—tape, thread, and round—are very common. A preparation of buckthorn is given.

Infant mortality is excessively high all through the Balkans. If a mother can nurse her child till the flocks are giving milk plentifully it stands a chance; if not, it is fed on parboiled maize-flour and heavy maize-bread. The abdomen swells greatly, and the child often dies; and, as I have stated, desire to preserve the child from the Evil Eye causes many to be half-suffocated in the cradle. Only the toughest survive, and they are very tough. The Albanians, Montenegrins, and Macedonians, whom I have had charge of as sick or wounded, do not suffer from shock, nor are they as sensitive to pain as West Europeans.

Wounds.—The Albanian tribesmen were far cleverer with wounds than with sickness. They had a traditional antiseptic treatment which was very successful. Old Marash Hutzi of Hoti, who had learnt the art from his grandfather, explained it to me. A wound must never be touched with water; it must be thoroughly washed out with rakia (brandy distilled from grapes). He judged the state of a wound by smelling it carefully. When well washed—when it perforated a limb he poured rakia right through—he dressed it with an ointment he made from white wax, olive oil, pine resin, and a decoction of the bark of green elder twigs. If deep, he plugged it with wool soaked in this ointment. In hot weather the dressings should be changed twice a day; and so long as the wound was foul he washed it daily with rakia. He saved a leg—compound comminuted fracture caused by horse-kick—which the Turkish military surgeon was going to amputate and made a quite usable, though rather shortened, limb of it. The grateful patient gave him thirty francs, the biggest fee the good old man had ever received. He had made his own instruments—some probes, forceps, a small saw made from a barrel hoop, and some knives.

From his grandfather's and his own experience he had a fair knowledge of where the main arteries ran, "where it was safe to cut and where

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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the peasant surgeon, at any rate, though few have as much to say to the credit of the other popular doctors and charmmongers. Matavulj, who in the second half of the last century was a faithful observer of peasant life, has a different story. 'There would not be so many cripples, blind men, lamed and deformed, in Dalmatia, were it not for the "empirics", who aggravate diseases, especially wounds, with their miraculous ointments, so that those who become incapable of work take to the beggar's staff.... Thousands of priests, land-owners, merchants, and other better and worse people (in smaller places) would flare up in defence of the village Aesculapians. They would enumerate in proof thousands of examples of how this and that village Aesculapius had cured Paul or Peter, when the "doctors had given him up".' Dr Preindlberger, of Sarajevo, examined sufferers treated by village surgeons for diseases of the eye, and his grim survey was published in 1913.[1] At the present time the self-taught operator at any rate is seldom able to practise at all.

It ought to appear that rational therapy is more characteristic in dealing with accidents or hurts whose immediate cause and symptoms are apparent, such as wounds and fractures; but again accidents can be ascribed to supernatural influences, and refusal to heal quickly to various mysterious causes. Long custom can become a superstition and mystical means be called in to assist the practical. Cauterisation of boils is not at all uncommon, but in Dalmatia there is a spell in which red-hot fire tongs are held close to the boil, so that the heat can be felt, while a conjuration is said. An Albanian doctor who employs exclusively empirical means gave me a prescription for a wound ointment containing ewe's fat. As I knew of several similar preparations which do not specify ewe's fat, I ventured to ask whether a male sheep would do as well, supposing that the gender was a mere habit of speech. He said quite plainly, no, an ewe's fat was certainly most efficacious, and failing that a she-goat's; he himself never used a sheep, but it might do if there was nothing else. This is a

[1] Preindlberger, *Prilozi narodnoj medicini*, Gl.Z.M. xx, pp. 63, etc.

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A 757 278 clear case of handing on a tradition in the form in which it was probably first accidentally learned, with the selection of one particular association, in this case, the sex of an animal. The accumulation of such analogies and the substitution of drugs on an arbitrary principle of similarity are the whole growth of folk-medicine, or at any rate account for most of its inconsistencies.

S 752 Folk-surgery more than any other branch reveals the importance of imitative practical methods, the influence of indirect contact with learned medicine, which accounts for pulse diagnosis, and the examination of urine, which can enter into the diagnosis for the evil eye, as well as for better authenticated complaints. Surgery also shows the workings of local ingenuity, and individual skill, of which the rupture belt illustrated by Hovorka is a remarkable example.[1]

C 752 It is in Southern Dalmatia that some of the most interesting accounts of folk-surgery have been collected; and it is here that it still mainly flourishes. For while the peasants have lived in the neighbourhood of the oldest centres of Adriatic culture, the villages themselves are remote and poor. Here in Dalmatia, older methods of Italian schools are still employed; terminology shows distinct learned influence; and purely local inventions evidently follow these suggestions. Here we have a recent tradition of lithotomy.

A description of folk-surgery given by Dr Lilek is still, after thirty years, up to date; and the skill of the surgeons whom he mentions by name is now sometimes transmitted to a younger generation, while their names are recorded in local memory, when the surgeons themselves are no longer alive.[2] Indeed, while Dr Lilek stated that certain practices were no longer in use (e.g. operation for conjunctivitis, hernia), I heard of their more recent existence in the immediate neighbourhood of Ston.

C [759] Amongst these folk-surgeons there is on the whole a startling absence of mystical outlook. Such a typical example is Pero

[1] O. Hovorka, *Narodna Medicina na polustrvu Palješka*, Gl.Z.M. XII, p. 119.
[2] *Vide* Lilek: Gl.Z.M. v.

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no cure is possible. 'Black boil' (*crni prišt*, etc.) generally seems to refer to anthrax, but the principle of cure for all similar abscesses and boils throughout the territory consists in the application of heat or of poultices to hasten suppuration, followed by cauterisation sometimes, and rarely by opening with an instrument. At Duvno in Bosnia the boil is cauterised with gunpowder in the same way, and the wound is then sprinkled with alum and a sparrow bound over it; as a precaution honey and garlic are eaten before this operation. These remedies are practised by shepherds, who suffer considerably from the complaint, and believe that unless the boil is immediately cauterised no one can survive. Honey is said to prevent the disease turning to the 'heart'. Fresh blood of a cat; the gall bladder of a bear; the head of a hare, and a hare's fat; a black cock or frog cut open alive; goose dung; pine tar on blue paper, are used.

The plant remedies appear somewhat limited. Slav and Albanian doctors in the south-eastern area recommend the leaves or decoction of the leaves of *Sambucus ebulus* (*zova*) for both internal and external use. Root of *Lappa communis* cooked in milk. Ivy leaves applied with vinegar. For boils and furuncles, in general, a decoction of the seeds or the inner bark of *vrgova* (*Boletus agaricus*?). The whole plant including the root of *Podagraria* (?) is pounded and applied to the boil for 24 hours, after which *Betonica officinalis* is used. The local name for *Aegopodium* is *Poganica trava*, corresponding to the English 'gout weed'. Elsewhere it is a remedy for rheumatism, etc., commonly known as *poganica*, which here means a black boil. If this case is accurately quoted—and there is no reason to suppose otherwise—it seems that it is a remarkable example of the working of popular etiology.

Gunpowder is the favourite agent. Another method on the lines of that given above is to cut a hole in a slice of dry bread and to lay it over the abscess, so that the surrounding flesh is protected. The gunpowder is poured into the circle and ignited. A piece of cloth, or better a twist of unspun wool is used, but when the boil is not on the face it is sur-

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The reference to the devil recalls a common belief that the snake carries poison, some say 'a devil' (*vrag*) in its tail, or that it passes to the tail when a snake dies (cf. Gl.Z.M. 12). A great number of snake-bite exorcisms found in mediaeval writings are preserved in more or in less corrupt forms, those which commemorate St Paul, for example, and refer to the legend of cure on Patmos.

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Dog bites and other animal bites are also counteracted with bandages, cauterisation and vomiting, but the characteristic treatment employs two methods non-popular in origin, blood-letting and the use of the cantharides fly. The universal first-aid remedy is to apply the halves of a bean or white pea, with saliva or chewed up, to the wound, but the fear of madness (*bijes*) has introduced many more complicated methods. It is held that not every person is susceptible to the disease, while in some even the bite of a healthy animal may prove fatal. Immunity is sometimes ensured by being born on the same day as the beast in question, and so on. A brief sketch of the beliefs concerning infection has been given above, and these hold good at the present time for many people. The effect of a bite of an animal is clearly very different from the action of snake or insect venom (*jad*, *otrov*), an expression seldom heard in connection with the former. Blood is extracted from the veins under the tip of the tongue, less usually from an incision made over the vertebral processes in the neck or on the temples. Another way of getting rid of the little mad dogs which cause the infection (*skotići*) is to take off one's clothes and leave them under a stone in the open for forty days, during which time the embryos incubate and can then be killed and wiped off the clothes.

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The Spanish fly is widely known as a remedy for dog bite and for gonorrhoea. The fly is drunk whole in brandy or eaten in a piece of bread; or, cut up or pounded, serves as an ingredient for other drugs. This remedy has long since passed into folk-medicine proper, and the collection and distribution of the insects—not always the true cantharides—are generally a personal monopoly. A certain Nikola Simonović,

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for instance, living in a hamlet about five miles off the Peć-Berane route, collects certain 'green flies' on the trees where they swarm, on St John's Eve, and generally gives them where they are needed without payment. He catches them alone at sundown, and implies that the business has to be undertaken in a certain way, but I do not think that any particular ritual form is observed here. With the fly a warning is given that, should the dog who has inflicted the bite not be genuinely mad, the medicine will cause severe pains and vomiting and bring on a sickness. For madness the flies are taken in brandy; for gonorrhoea they are pounded with nutmeg and mixed with water. In other places these flies are caught by old women, and from some accounts it would seem not unlikely that charms or some form of minor ritual are used. The seeds of burdock, either raw and pounded or cooked in water, are taken internally. Onions and garlic, of course, are universal remedies. Garlic, with *Ruta graveolens* and salt give a variant, while onions with honey and vinegar make a suitable salve for the wound. White maggots found in rose hips are eaten in bread. The tubercles on the root of *Verbascum thapsus* pounded are given as a remedy, and if this identification of a popular name is correct it is interesting that one of the folk-doctors whom I met in the Lim region quoted it to me as a general antitoxic specific. It is also used for scrofula. The bite of a human being is treated with garlic, bacon fat and pine tar washed three times. A wolf bite was fumigated with resinous fir (*lučevina*), but this remedy was supposed to be ineffectual for the bite of any other creature, or for any other kind of wound.

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BLOOD-LETTING

Blood-letting was, and in remoter districts still is, chiefly the monopoly of the barber class. These operators generally have special instruments—a small cutting instrument with a short blade controlled by a spring, or a cylindrical multi-bladed *neštar* manipulated with a screw—which are used throughout the Near East by doctors of the old school. The peasant

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of the neck for dog bite. Venous blood was let from the arm or leg for almost any illness due to bad blood, including headache. An incision was made above the veins in the hollow of the elbow, made to swell by a ligature on the upper arm, and blood extracted by means of a small cup or glass. In taking blood from the head at Levač they bind the neck, and when extracting it from the arm the operators tie a cord above the elbow. When an abdominal swelling appeared after intermittent fever it was diagnosed as a disease of the liver or the spleen. According to which side of the body it was found the doctors made a small cut in the lobe of the right or left ear and extracted a few drops of blood. The swelling was treated directly with a plaster of pine tar spread on bread, and the patient also drank a decoction of herbs, including *Artemisia, Malva, Marrubium.*

STEAMING AND FUMIGATION

Sweating is effected by bathing in hot water, by fumigation and by steaming. Throughout the territory a very usual method of procuring steam is still by the method of dropping a red-hot iron or stone into a large vessel of water, over which the patient leans or sits. Possibly this is an example of an older procedure for heating water preserved specifically in therapeutic associations, since, in daily life, it would seldom be necessary now to resort to this clumsier method, convenient only for the preparation of sherbet and hot alcoholic drinks. It is used for heating large quantities of water, when it is not convenient to do so over a fire, or when the container is of wood, but the point is still that for steaming in illness it is done when there is no practical necessity at all. This may simply be because the doctors who advise this method themselves come from a less advanced material culture environment and are often from mountain districts. Yet I have seen it done in towns, for example, at Peć, and regard it as a survival. Thus it was when a person was suffering from piles or constipation, he sat on a plank, balanced on two chairs, over a hole, and a copper pan of water was placed below him.